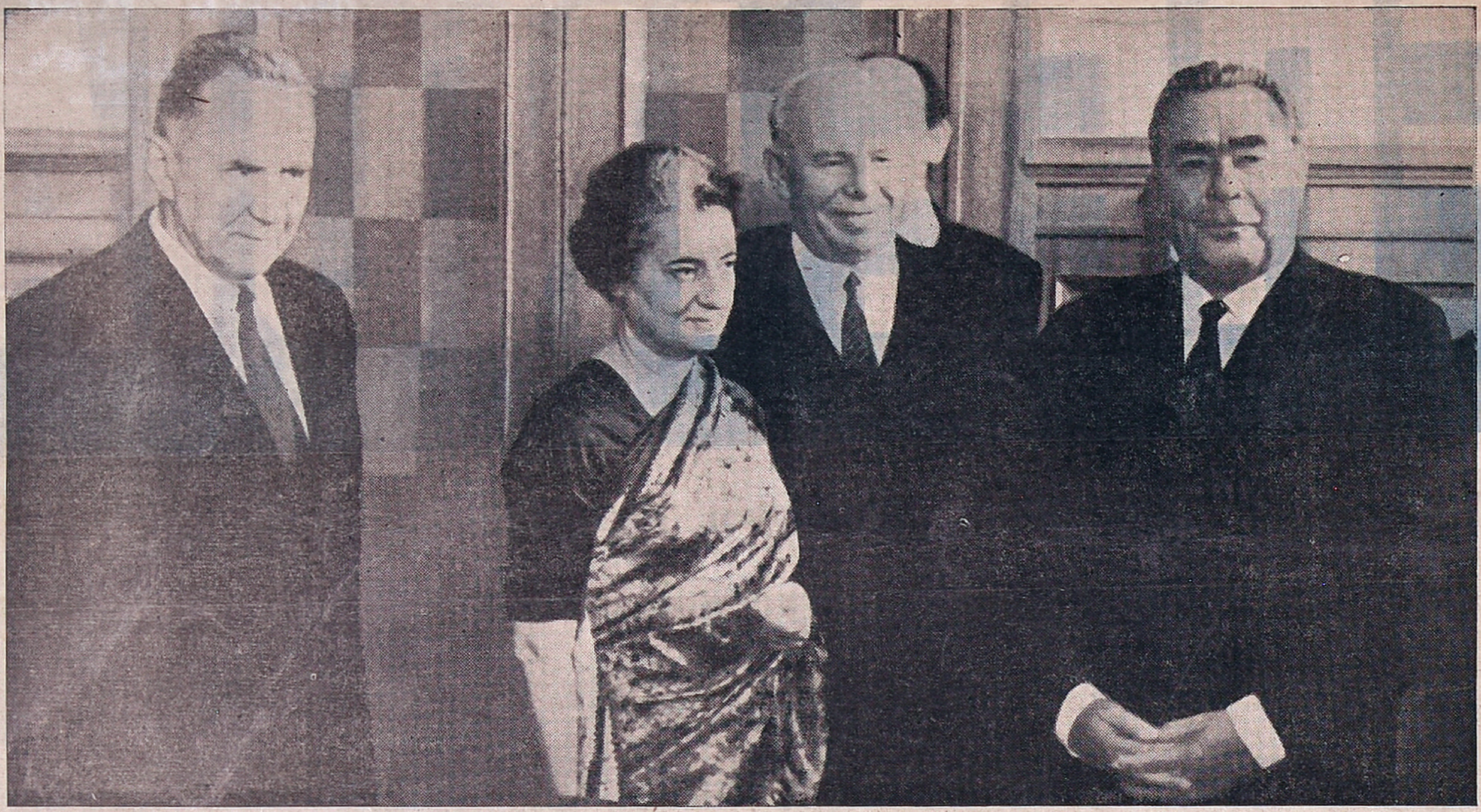
FREE INDIA

33rd Year Of Publication September 17, 1972 ★ 20 Paise

SOUTH INDIA'S FINEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY



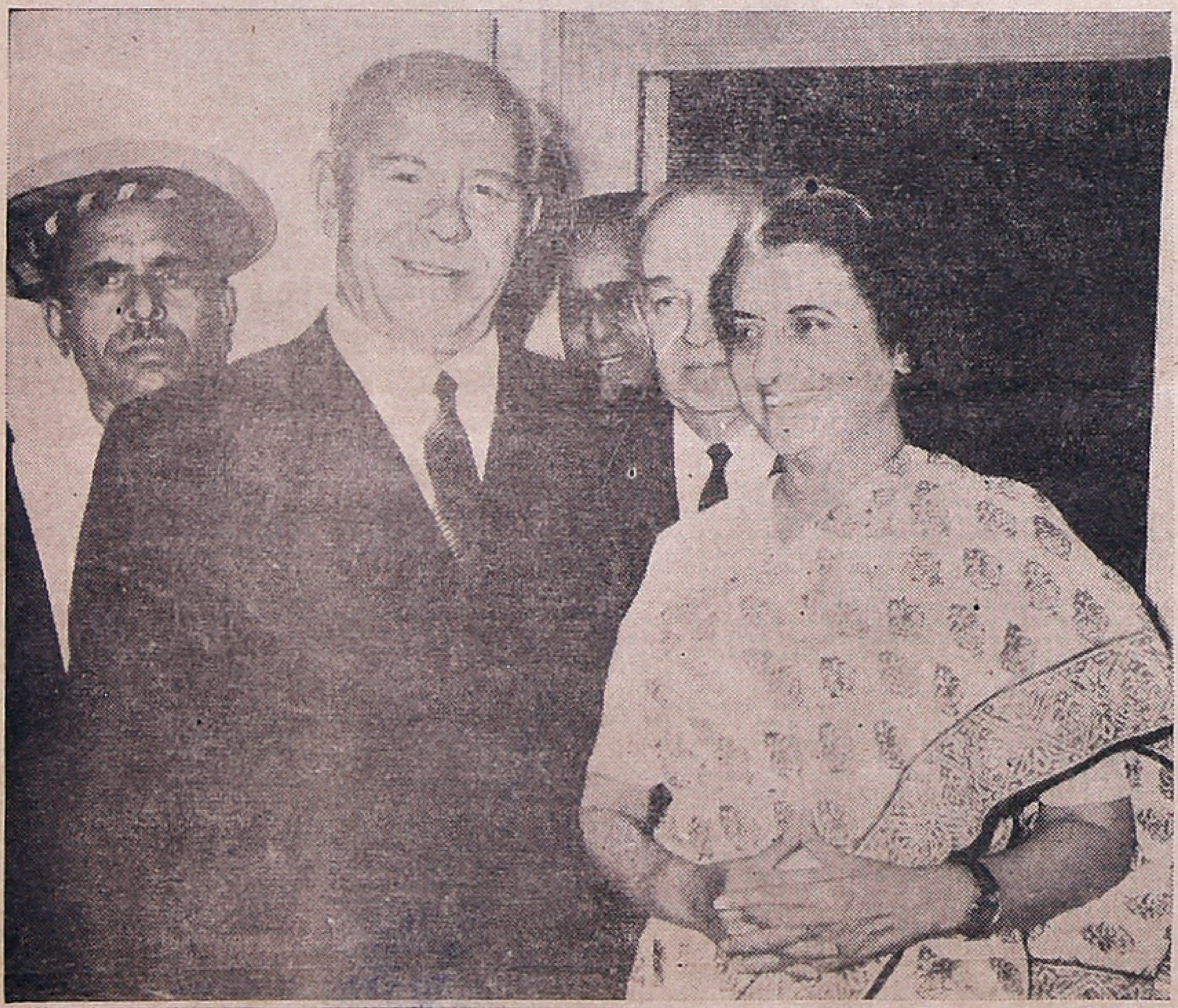
Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, with Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (Extreme right), President Nikolai Podgorny and Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin (Extreme left.)

Andrei Gromyko and Sardar Swaran Singh, Foreign Ministers of USSR and India.

Indo-Soviet Friendship In Retrospect

The visits of Soviet leaders to India and of Indian leaders to the USSR have contributed a great deal in deepening friendship and cooperation between the two countries. The Soviet and Indian leaders, whenever they meet, discuss problems of mutual interest and of world peace. Their personal contacts have widened the horizon of cooperation between the two friendly countries. The Soviet-Indian friendship treaty attaches impor-

(*Contd. on third cover*)



N.V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

L. I. Brezhnev with Jawaharlal Nehru after receiving aa address in New Delhi.

25-

Mr. G. D. Naidu, 'Gopal Bagh' Avanashi Road, Coimbatore-18.

FREE INDIA
Phone: 85304
SUBSCRIPTION RATES
6 Months Rs. 5 00
1 Year Rs. 10 00
Single Copy 20 Ps.
OUTSIDE INDIA
6 Months Rs. 10
1 Year Rs. 20
Circulation Manager
FREE INDIA WEEKLY
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS-2

Regd. No. M. 4181. 20 PAISE Telephone: 85304
33rd YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Free India

Founder: E. R. GOVINDAN

Vol. XXXIII | Madras, Sunday, Sep. 17 1972 | No. 51

Grams ARULMART
Phone: 22808

Sri Jothee Waste Paper Co.

No. 21, Anna Pillai Street, MADRAS-1

Is Congress Returning to Pattern Before Split ?

THE Congress President, Dr S. D. Sharma, is unlikely to find any supporters even in his own party for his view that the current violence and unrest is the result of a "deeplaid conspiracy" of the four Opposition parties who constituted the 1971 Grand Alliance. According to him, the Congress Working Committee has authorized him to expose these parties who were exploiting the "difficulties of the people". One or more of these parties may have been associated with some inc dents in some parts of the country, but Dr Sharma is being escapist if he thinks these are responsible for the increase in violence. The explanation must be sought elsewhere, writes S. Viswam in the Statesman.

In most cases growing socio-economic discontent, the rising prices and mounting unemployment are the direct causes. Political parties had initially nothing to do w th the student strikes in Bihar and Rajasthan and the mass violence in Shahdara and other parts of Delhi It is possible that they may have attempted to exploit some of these incidents but the Congress too is not entirely innocent in this respect. Tamil Nadu Congressmen joined the Opposition-sponsored farmers' agitation. In Maharashtra the violence in Vikhroli was due to a clash between two Congress trade unionists and this has caused wider political repercussions. Most of the incidents elsewhere can be traced to causes that are basically non-political. To describe them as the result of an Opposition conspiracy to embarrass the ruling party is to divert attention from the issue.

TURNING CRITICAL

The reality is that the situation in the country is reverting to the pattern before the Congress split. The political stresses which led to Mrs. Gandhi's campaign for a change have reappeared. Economic frustration has encouraged strikes, violence and general unrest. The euphoria generated by the election successes, the liberation of Bangladesh and the war victory is gradually fading Slogans do not seem to have the magical appeal they had in 1970 and 1971. Mrs Gandhi's political opponents attribute the current economic crisis to the Government's inability to translate radical slogans into socialist action and to the lack of direction in economic policy. Congressmen, hitherto passive supporters of the "undisputed leader of the party", are turning critical. And those who criticized excessive slogan-mongering are now happy that their warnings have come true. The "Young Turk" leader Mr Chandra Sekhar, for instance, refers to the current violence as "ripples of seething discontent" and warns that "one can dismiss it lightly as superfluous evidence of usual momentary local tensions but not to judge them as symptoms of developing strains will mean an utter ignorance of the people's mood and their capacity to force issues which were once projected to gain their confidence."

BONUS ISSUE

Unfortunately for Mrs Gandhi the bonus issue has come up at a time when all the Economic Ministers are preoccupied with restoring industrial production. Differences in the Bonus Review Committee and its conflicting recommendations have added to the Government's difficulties. The Centre is now in the embarrassing position of having to choose one set of recommendations from among three. The Government has reportedly come round in the last few days to the view that the increased rate recommended is unavoidable; but it has yet to decide on the important question of its applicability to losing concerns and to public sector units, Centre and State Governments, departmentally-run undertakings and civic bodies. A decision may take time; but meanwhile there will be increased pressures from Leftist parties. It may not be possible for Mrs Gandhi to avoid the threatened countrywide agitation by Leftist parties who have already dismissed as inadequate the Congress Working Committee's latest proposals for checking prices. These proposals may to some extent help to relieve urban economic stresses, but there is a danger of discontent spreading to the rural areas large parts of which are affected by drought. Mrs Gandhi's approval of a Rs 28-crore grant to Andhra Pradesh for drought relief will trigger off similar demands from other States similarly affected, adding to the Centre's financial burden.

CENTRAL NOMINEES

On the political front, six months after the State Assembly elections, it can now be said that Mrs Gandhi's experiment in sending her own nominees to head State Governments has not been successful. In at least six States, dissidents have gathered enough courage to demand a change in leadership. This is partly because her nominees have failed to create a political base for themselves and partly because of growing factional pressures not confined to the legislative wing. Another reason is that barring, perhaps, Mr. Siddhartha Shanker Ray and Mr. Ghanashyam Oza, others have not shown the administrative competence expected of them. Factional rivalries, both at the Centre and the States, are reminiscent of the situation before the party split. These are not due to ideological disagreement but to personal differences which were dormant during and after the elections. Cabinet expansions with the Centre's approval have led to increased factionalism in some States; in others a failure to expand has produced

(Contd. on page 2)

A BIT OF HISTORY

THE Powellites may be crying themselves hoarse over the danger of 50 million Britons being swamped by the 50,000 coloured immigrants bearing British passports. But the Asians, who are being thrown out of Uganda without a penny on them, are not without friends in Britain.

Many persons have been writing to papers in London arguing that the Heath government is obliged, legally as well as morally, to take in all those people. One of them has even dug into local history to remind her countrymen what they owe to Asians.

"While the 'keep Britain white' devotees of Smithfield march about shouting their racialist slogans," she writes in a letter to *The Times* "they might pause and glance up Farringdon Road to the Peabody Estates and contemplate the fact that Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Indian member of Parliament, fought successfully to have the working class tenants of those buildings enfranchised in local elections. Naoroji's election to Parliament in 1892 was a result of working class support, including among others the great trade unionist and dockland leader, John Burns. His campaign headquarters was above a butcher's shop on Goswell Road. Perhaps the porters would care to visit it.

"Then, if the hands and legs which carry the placards and wave the Union Jacks are not too weary, they might walk a few blocks further to see the site of one of London's first public health clinics, established when the National Health Service was only a Labour dream. Its founder? Dr. C. L. Katial, an "Asian" and Mayor of the Borough of Finsbury in 1931."

But then 1892 and even 1931 seem a far cry from 1972 and soon we will be in 1984.

—Times of India

From page 1

Is Congress Returning....

the same result. In either case political uncertainties have increased and the authority of the Chief Ministers has been undermined; they are now once again dependent on Mrs Gandhi's goodwill.

RELUCTANT TO INTERFERE

Mrs. Gandhi is unwilling at present to interfere in any State for fear of a chain reaction. This was reflected in the way she tackled the crisis in Uttar Pradesh brought about by the dissidents' demand for the removal of some Ministers. Her advisers have informed dissidents in other States that their pressure for changes in leadership or in the Ministries will be ignored. Pradesh Congress presidents and Chief Ministers have been told to patch up their differences and present the image of a united party. This has created difficulties for some PCC presidents who had taken Mrs Grandhi's support for granted. Differences between the ministerial and organizational wings have been reported in Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal. (An office-bearer of the Madhya Pradesh PCC and the State Chief Minister were recently involved in an unseemly public wrangle over the enrolment of "bogus" members to the party.) Strained relations between the Bombay PCC and the State Government on the one hand, and between the Chief Minister and the MPCC president on the other, have also disfigured the Congress image.

"CLEARING CAMPAIGN

Mr. Hanumanthaiya and his "cleansing campaign" instructions to the U.P. dissidents, the decision of the Parliamentary Board and Mrs Gandhi's letter to the Congress President on prohibition indicates a new code of conduct for Congressmen. This is that members cannot air controversies or make allegations against Ministers or colleagues in public but only through party channels. Where there is reason to suspect corrupt practices, the guilty are not to be spared. Ministers and members alike will be required to project a cleaner image of themselves. This obviously has a two-fold motive: to discourage factionalism and to create an image of unity to counter-balance the increasing disillusionment with the ruling party for its failures on the economic front.

It is difficult to say how far the warning against factionalism will succeed. Mrs Gandhi's anxiety to ensure political stability in the States in order to implement the Centre's economic policies is understandable. But in this search for stability and unity it is possible that legitimate dissent may be taken as indiscipline or dismissed as due to personal rivalry. When dissent springs from ideological conflicts the result can be even more discouraging. The Nehru Study Forum in the Congress Parliamentary Party has not reduced factional pressures; there is evidence that it may develop into an effective counterweight to the Socialist Forum. Its membership has risen to about 150, despite Socialist Forum's description of it as a body of "reactionaries, kulaks and promonopolists." If anything, the acceptance of the Nehru Forum by a large number of MPs shows that the claim of the Socialist Forum members as being close to Mrs Gandhi and hence responsible for all radical policies has lost credibility. The Nehru Forum is making no secret of its satisfaction in having "put the ultra-radicals in their place". There is no more the "danger" of lists being circulated during party elections by individual Socialist Forum members as "official lists" supposedly blessed by Mrs Gandhi. On its part, the Socialist Forum seems to have realized that its role as the "collective bargainer" for positions in the party and the Government has led to a general disenchantment.

Piqued by the emergence of a rival pressure group the Socialist Forum leadership has held a series of meetings to reassess its role and evolve a new programme for socialist action. The controversy over whether the Nehru Forum has Mrs. Gandhi's blessings or not is now irrelevant. What is relevant is the leadership's approach to the forums when the ideological clash between them becomes acute. It may suit Mrs. Gandhi now to play one group against the other, but a time may come when she may have to disband both in the interests of party discipline. Mr. Chandra Sekhar, once an important member of the Socialist Forum but now active in neither says: "The game is the same. The goal remains unaltered. Only the players have changed. It provide a certain amusement to onlookers but the trend is ominous."

— —

PRICKED

The mistress of the house heard the bell ring and saw a Chinese hawker standing at the open front door. Quickly retreating, she called out to the maid:

"There's a Chinese at the door. You go, Ella."

This was too much for the Chinese, who struck his head in at the door and shouted, indignantly:

"You go 'ella yourself!"

* * *

WHAT?

First Author (reading aloud as he writes): "The evening wore on "

Second Author (listening): "Well, what did it wear?"

First Author: "Oh, I don't know - the close of day, I suppose."

How To Fiddle Legally

By AJBRANSTON

When we reflect that virtually everything that it is possible to tax has been taxed at some time or other, is it any wonder that people should seek ways and means of avoiding the payment of such taxes?

You will recall, of course, that "tax avoidance," is legal, whereas "tax evasion," or "fiddling" is against the law. Yet, even when taking advantage of tax avoidance, all too often this still means one is taxed beyond endurance!

True, it's an old story. Nobody loves the tax-collector! Even Woodrow Wilson, America's 27th President, advocating the first modern graduated income tax law, felt compelled to admit: "The tax-collector is never esteemed as a lovable man. His methods are too blunt, and his power too obnoxious!"

We can all say that again!

How natural, then, that people should make every effort to avoid paying these hateful taxes. Yet it is not always so easy. When windows were taxed, bricking them up solved that problem; but dealing with taxed doors was not so simple, though of course their number could be reduced; likewise chimneys and newspapers and wigs. (But how, decently, to avoid tax on tombstones?) Similarly, when beards were taxed, (wouldn't such a tax today do much to encourage a cleaner look?), it was easy just to cut them off.

But when land, property and livestock are taxed, how does the owner avoid the prying eyes of the tax-collector? Way back in mediaeval England it was indeed a problem, as one historian shows: "There was not a single hide (land unit) nor yard of land nor even—it is a shame to tell though it seemed no shame to do —an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine that was left that was not set down in his (the tax-collector's) writing."

Occasionally, irate over-taxed citizens "pay" their taxes by returning their "tax demands" with shirts and false teeth—suggesting the tax-collector has literally "skinned" them!

One woman, a Czech who migrated to New York in 1934 and took up charring for a living, had a unique way of handling her tax demands. Thinking they represented money due to her from a grateful American treasury, she carefully saved them. It took the tax-men until 1961 to catch up with her. One can imagine her angry indignation when the tax demands were explained to her, and tax was deducted from the £17000 found in her handbag.

One can, of course, always try that Frenchman's method of "avoiding" full tax payment. In 1960, to show his discontent, he hit upon the ingenius idea of paying all the tax less ONE franc, arguing that the tax authorities could not prosecute since he'd paid most of the tax, and the cost of recovering that one franc would be prohibitive!

On the other hand, the hard-pressed married citizen could always cite the authority of his wife to challenge the taxman's estimate of tax due. It happened a few years ago in the United States, when a tax-payer wrote to the Inland Revenue: I have tried every combination of figures I can think of and cannot discover how your computer arrived at a tax of $772.15. Because I have great respect for computers, I am enclosing a schedule which indicates that by my computations the tax would be $528.61, and I have had my wife check my figures. You can't go higher than wives."

We can but hope he got away with it!

Another way of reducing tax, once practised in the Near East but hardly to be recommended, was to refuse to pay and ultimately to be arrested by the tax authorities and subjected to the "bastinado". This, which meant being beaten, would continue until the delinquent tax-payer promised to pay up. But—the longer he suffered the flogging to continue, the less tax he had to pay!

Not to be recommended, either is the method of tax avoidance used at one time by the hard riding Tuareg "blue men" who ive near Timbuktu. These camel-riding nomads of the Sahara, smarting under the indignity of being called upon to pay a new tax on cattle, "solved" the problem and restored their prestige by shooting the tax-collectors!

Yet, oddly, while 99.9% of tax-payers are seeking ways and means (legal and illegal) of not paying taxes, it seems incredible that any person or group of persons should *demand to be taxed.* But it actually happened in Papua 1936, when inhabitants of a village, exempted from paying tax, insisted on their "right" to be taxed. Said the chief of this village indignantly to the tax-collector: "Are we dogs or bush rats, that we cannot pay the tax?"

Surely such an occasion, when the tax-collector was welcomed and took money from people delighted to pay, must be unique in the annals of tax-collecting!

—Statesman

ON THE COVER

Arignar Anna, the founder of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, whose birthday was celebrated throughout Tamil Nadu with much enthusiasm.

City Train Timings

MADRAS CENTRAL

	Dep.	Arr.
Howrah Janata	8-35	19-15
Tatanagar Exp.	12-35	14-10
Howrah Mail	20-55	5-05
Circars Exp.	21-45	6-40
New Delhi Exp.	8-20	17-55
Hyderabad Exp.	13-30	10-15
Delhi Janata	15-10	15-55
New Delhi-Air conditioned/Grand Trunk Express*	19-45	10-55
Dadar Express	10-00	17-15
Bombay Janata	13-40	14-00
Bombay Mail	21-50	5-15
Tirupati Exp.	6-00	21-40
Brindavan Exp.	8-10	19-05
Bangalore Exp.	12-45	15-20
Bangalore Mail	21-15	5-40
West Coast Exp.	12-25	14-45
Kerala Express	16-25	9-35
Mangalore Mail	20-00	7-00
Nilagiri Exp.	20-30	19-45
Cochin Mail	19-30	6-10
Gudur Pass.	8-45	22-50
Gudur Pass. (via Arkonam)	—	21-45
Vijayawada Pass.	15-20	12-40
Vijayawada Parcel Passenger	3-45	4-10
Raichur Pass.	9-25	20-15
Tirupati Pass.	17-00	9-45
Bangalore Pass.	6-05	21-00
Jolarpettai Pass.	11-20	14-20
Arkonam Pass.	17-55	—
Coimbatore Parcel Passenger	21-25	6-10

Janata Express—III Class only

*This train will run as air-conditioned express ex-Madras Central on Mondays and Saturdays and arrive Madras Central on Wednesdays and Fridays. On the other days of the week, it will run as Grand Trunk Express.

MADRAS EGMORE

(MAIN LINE)

Tiruchi Express	8-55	17-10
Madurai Janata	13-40	7-45
Rameswaram Exp.	19-40	8-15
Tiruchi Pass	6-50	—
Nagore Fast Pass.	15-55	12-05
Trivandrum Pass.	21-30	5-40
Madurai Parcel Passenger	22-20	4-50
Shencottah Pass,	—	21-10
(CHORD LINE)		
Trivandrum Exp.	7-50	18 10
Tirunelveli Exp.	18-15	8-35
Trivandrum Mail	19-00	6-45
Pandyan Exp.	20-45	7-15
Tuticorin Express	21-15	6-15
Rameswaram Passenger	11-00	16-25
MADRAS BEACH		
Chingleput Pass.	17-07	10-40
Kancheepuram Passenger	17-33	9-58
Kancheepuram Passenger *	18-12	9-30

*Will run on all days except on Sundays.

Sunday service will be observed only on Madras Beach-Tambaram Electrified suburban secton

Janata Express—Third Class only.

V. V. S. Aiyar-23

By R. A. PADMANABAN

The Pondicherry Family

MANDAYAM Srinivasacharya, V.V.S. Aiyar's first host in Pondicherry, belonged to a Southern Vaishnavite Brahmin family which had, because of its association with Pondicherry had come to be known as "The Pondicherry Family."

Srinivasacharya came of a line of great scholars, who had originally been Royal Court Pundits in the lustrous Vijayanagar Empire, 1340-1565 A.D. The vast and wealthy Vijaya nagar Empire lavishly patronised religion and the fine arts, and religious heads, scholars, artists and sculptors flocked to adorn the Court. Foreign travellers like Nicolai Conti, who visited Hampi, the capital, in 1420 A.D. when the Empire had not reached its zenith of glory, have left us eye-witness accounts of the lavish wealth and exhuberant rule of the monarchs of Vijayanagar. The high-watermark of the Vijayanagar Empire was reached during the reign of Sri Krishna Deva Raya, 1509-1530 A.D, one of the greatest kings of the world.

Srinivasacharya's ancestors had the honorific "Kundalacharyas" in view of their eminence in scholarship and *Dharma Shastras*. This entitled them exclusively to wear in their ears golden pendents called "kundalas". It was a great privilege to be a kundalacharya.

SETTLED IN MANDYA

After the fall of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the 16th century, Srinivasacharya's ancestors moved South to Mandya in Mysore State. After the Mysore Wars, they moved to the Tamil country and settled in the suburb of Triplicane in Madras City. Triplicane is an ancient seat of Vaishnavism, having been sung about by the Alwars, Vaishnavite mystics, as early as the first centuries after Christ. Triplicane's famous temple of Sri Parthasarathy (Sri Krishna) has been highly endowed by the Vijayanagar monarchs.

Thus, in the course of a little over two centuries, which Srinivasacharya's ancestors took to move from the Telugu area of Hampi to the Tamil area of Madras, they had a tentative stay in the Kannada area. They were therefore aquainted with Telugu, Tamil and Kannada languages, all of which have extensive literatures and philosophic works. In Mysore, the clan was mainly settled in Mandya, a town south-west of Bangalore city and hence the clan came to be called "Mandayam Aiyangars!" But some families moved to Srirangapatnam, the then capital of the Mysore kings. Srinivasacharya's family was one such and so his correct name was Srirangapatnam Srinivasacharya, and he signed himself Sri. Sri. Acharya, though by common consent he was popularly called "Mandayam Srinivasacharya."

LAWYER SON OE JUDGE

Some of the members of Srinivasacharya's ancestral families were not only men of great learning but were also in positions of influence in the English regime. One such, by name Krishnamachar, was *Sadar Amin* of the *Sadar Audalat* (Judge of the District Court) in Mangalore on the West Coast. He was also a litterateur well-versed in Kannada, and two books of his survive.

Krishnamachar, the Sadar Amin, died about 1843 in Mangalore. His eldest son, Tirumalachar, had a *sanad* (certificate) from his father that he was capable of pleading in law courts. In those days, such a certificate was enough to get one enrolled as a lawyer in the High Court. In a few years Tirumalachar was tolerably well off in material comfort. It was he who purchased the famous house, later called "Gautama Ashram", in No. 3, Peyalwar Koil St, adjacent to the ancient Parthasarathy Temple in Triplicane. Incidentally, it is only in this temple that Krishna is sculptured as a charioteer, with a mustache.

RARE BOOKS

Tirumalachar, (Mandayam Srinivasachaya's grandfather) when he moved to Madras had with him an ancestral heritage of a collection of rare palm-leaf works and books in print. These, the "Sarasvati Bhandaram", (Treasure of Learning) they put in charge of his younger brother, and wese kept in a small shed in the front portion of ths house. Another younger brother of Tirumalachar, was the first in the family to get a regular English education. He joined the Presidency High School, founded in 1840, which later became the Presidency College, one of the premier educational institutions in the South. After passing the First in Arts (F.A) there, he began to attend classes in Law which were also held in the same building. (The Presidency High School was then located in Nungambakkam, where the Office of the Director of Public Education is situated When the High School became a College, its name was inscribed in an arch over the gateway. It stands or at least stood till a few years ago, unchanged, giving the whole campus the name 'College House'.)

TEMPLE SUITS

The younger brother who studied Law after passing his F.A. degree, belonged to the last batch of students who could take without passing an arts B.A. degree. His name is mentioned in the Presidency College Centenary Souvenir of 1940. After passing his law degree, this gentleman joined his brother Tirumalachar in the legal profession. In those days there were a number of internecine legal cases about religious institutions, mainly between the Southern (Tenkalai) and Northern (Vadakalai) persuations of Vaishnavites. Tirumalachar, who belonged to Tenkalai persuasion like all Mandayam Aiyangars, would invariably take the side of the Tenkalai clients and one Satakopachariar of Mylapore, another suburb of Madras city, used to appear for the Vadakalais. Both, being well-versed in religious and temple affairs, would enlighten English judges on procedural rights in temple honours, each according to his stand, and English judges would have a hard time deciding which was right and which wrong. For, in those days, the British Government used to keep off individual religious matters, leaving the Hindu Society to regulate itself on traditional and customary bases. What was tradition, and what was customary, used to be the main things argued about.

ADOPTION CASE

Tirumalachar, having hailed from a clan which had originally been in Mysore State, was also consulted by the Mysore Kings in matters pertaining to their problems Mandayam Srinivasacharya says:

"It seems that when the Maharajah of Mysore, Mummidi Krishnaraja Vadiyar (who was an illustrious king and ruled long) wanted to adopt a son, British Resident to the State objected and would not give his consent.

Lord Wellesley, an earlier Viceroy and Governor General had initiated a policy that all kingdoms in Princely India which do not have a regular heir to succeed would automatically go over to British hegemony. But adopting a heir was a common Hindu custom, even among royalty. Therefore, the Residents always tried to object and see that such kingdoms were somehow annexed to the British India.

The Maharajah of Mysore secretly sent an emissary to Madras to consult lawyers there in confidence. The emissary, among others, consulted Tirumalachar, who expressed the opinion that if the Rajah could engage an European barrister along with him, he could get the adoption approved legally. The emissary said the Maharajah had authorised him to do so. Thereupon, Tirumalachar, engaged a British barrister in

(Contdon page 12)

FREE INDIA, SEPTEMBER 17, 1972

FUN AND LAUGHTER

FETISH

It was the lot of a pretty girl to be taken in to dinner by a famous bachelor judge, who was for ever worrying about his health.

She managed to keep him entertained until the dessert arrived, when suddenly he laid down his knife and fork and muttered, anxiously: "Madam, I fear I must ask you to excuse me. What I have been fearing has happened a severe attack of paralysis of the lower limbs."

"Oh, please don't distress yourself!" exclaimed the girl "It was my leg you were pinching, not your own!"

* * *

CHERIO!

The novice boxer had been badly battered in the first round His second tried to cheer him up.

"Good boy," he said; "you're doing fine."

He fared even worse in the second round. Still his second remained optimistic.

"You were great that time," he said. "He barely laid a glove on you."

The novice looked puzzled. As he went out for the third round, he turned to his second:

"Better keep your eye on the referee this time, he said. Some body is hitting me."

* * *

HIT WELL

The old Mr. Biffin was delegated the honour of presenting the vacuum-cleaner purchased by the staff as a token of their esteem for Miss Jones, the typist, who was leaving the office to get married.

He rose, blushed nervously, and said: "On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I congratulate you and beg to accept this little gift. We hope that as you employ it to free your home from unwanted dirt and litter, you will be reminded of your old friends at the office."

* * *

TO SEE IT THRO'

"I am going to buy a raven," a householder informed his neighbour.

"Really," rejoined the latter, "What for?"

"I want to see if these birds really do live three hundred years, as people say."

L.G
COMPOUNDED
ASAFOETIDA
FOREMOST FOOD FLAVOURING AND PRESERVATIVE.
LALJEE GODHOO & CO. MADRAS 1
BOMBAY.

EXPLAINED

"What made you think that the prisoner was under the influence of drink?" asked the magistrate.

"Well, sir," replied the constable, "he put twopence through the letter-box, rang the front-door cell, put an empty milk bottle to his ear and said, 'No reply,' Then he went to sleep on the door-step."

* * *

DISEASED

Two cronies were discussing their respective ministers and one expressed displeasure with his."

"Our minister," he said, suffers from foot and mouth disease."

"And what kind of affection is that?" inquired his friend.

"He won't visit and he can't preach."

* * *

TALL CLAIMS

Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman tells of a Scotsman who was asserting that all the great poets were of his nation.

"Well," said someone, "but how about Shakespeare? You can't say he was a Scotsman."

To this the Scotsman replied: "His talents would justify the supposition."

* * *

IN JITTERS

Basher, the bo er, had been engaged to fight a huge Negro. On the eve of the match the big man's backer nodded toward Basher's room and inquired of the trainer: "Fit?"

"Yes," came the retort. "He's in one now. He's just seen his opponent."

* * *

USED TO IT

The irate golfer stalked up to the woman who was surrounded by her offspring.

"You must take your children away from here, madam. This is no place for them."

"Don't you worry," replied the woman, pleasantly, "they can 'ear nothing new. Their father was a sergeant major."

* * *

VEERED ROUND

"Now let's a talk about you, shall we?" said the pretty film starlet.

"All right, dear!" replied her admirer.

"Well, then, what does a young man like you see in a girl like me?"

* * *

FOR RESEARCH

The professor was alone in the house when a beggar came along.

Beggar: Beg pardon, sir, but I've had nothing to eat for a week.

Professor: How very interesting. Well, come back later and tell me how long you were able to hold out.

MADE SOFTER

"Thought I'd have to go without a pillow last night, but I found an old drain pipe," said one recruit to another.

"Bit hard was'nt it?"

"It was a bit—but I stuffed some straw into it!"

* * *

LOOK TO YOURS

Mrs. Smith was particularly fond of reminding her husband that the silver was hers, the piano was hers, and the furniture was hers, and Smith was getting tired of it.

One night Mrs Smith was awakened by noise downstairs She shook her husband.

"Henry," she said hoarsely. "Get up there are burglars downstairs."

"Burglars!" echoed Smith, wearily. "Well, let'em burgle. There's nothing of mine down there."

* * *

HOW HE GOT IT

"Does your wife ever pay you any compliments?"

'Only in the winter."

"In the winter? How do you mean?"

'When the fire gets low, she says, 'Alexander, the great!'"

* * *

"The youth of to-day is not interested in classical architecture," says a writer. At a very early age he prefers to build flats of blocks.

* * *

"I can't meet my bills," a man told a London Magistrate.

Goodness! we meet them every turn.

* * *

YES—WHAT DIFFERENCE?

"Here, waiter, what kind of soup is this-chicken or tomato.?"

"Can't you tell by the taste, sir?"

"No."

"Well, what difference does it make then?"

* * *

LEAVE IT TO ME

Drunk: "Shay, waiter, find my hat."

Waiter: "It's on your head, sir."

Drunk: "Don't bother then; I'll look for it myself."

* * *

DON'T LEAVE

Second: "Go in and finish this time."

Heavyweight: "I can't see him."

"Then hit him from memory."

* * *

WRONG

He had taken great pains to teach his wife to speak correctly. One day she caught him kissing the maid.

"George, I'm surprised," she said

"Really' you must be more careful," he replied "I am surprised. 'You' are astonished."

Truly 'Lit'

Johnny and Joe had had a great night out, and were well and truly "lit up" as Johnny drove the car homewards.

Needless to say, he didn't notice a newly dug drain ac oss the road, and drove into it at considerable speed. There was a lovely bump and Johnny's chin impacted smartly with the steering wheel.

Stopping the car, he got out and stood weakly leaning against it. The carnation in his button-hole fell to the ground, and he gave a startled yell.

"Good Heavens, Joe, I've bit darned tongue off!"

THAT WORM!

The doctor had overhauled his patient.

"You confess that you are bad-tempered," he said. 'I suppose you know that science has discovered that your bad temper is caused by an ugly little m crobe?"

"Hush!" said the patient. "For goodness sake, speak quietly, doctor! She's sitting in the next room."

* * *

HIS COMPLIMENT

She was a painter in water colours and was very proud of her work; also her complexion was the remark of her acquaintances.

At a dinner party one night she sat next to shy awkward young man, who sought valiantly to find something to say.

She tried to open conversation with him. With becoming modesty she said: "I expect you have heard that I paint?"

"Yes," he replied, gallantly, looking at her face. "But I don't believe it."

Save The Trouble

A civil engineer stepped on to the broken-down porch of a dilapidated shack high in the hills. A mountaineer wife sat on the porch, resting comfortably.

The engineer tipped his hat.

"Howdy, madam" he began. "I just came here to tell you we're going to dynamite that wooden bridge down the road. So when you hear a loud explosion, don't worry about it."

The hill-billy waman nodded.

"What time ye gonna dymite the bridge?"

"To-morrow morning," replied the engineer. "At eight."

The hill-billy woman puffed on her pipe.

"Can't ye make it six o'clock?" she drawled. "Then I won't have to set the alarm clock for my husband."

The Governor & The State

IS the Governor under the Constitution a mere figurehead or does he wield effective power in the administrative structure? A controversy on this issue has come to the fore in Tamil nadu where the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, a communal party, is in power writes N. Ranga Rao Times Weekly.

The Madurai DMK district conference held early last month, on all accounts a showpiece to demonstrate the hold of the party on the masses, was the starting point of the current controversy. A leading member of the DMK, Mr. Murasoli Maran. M.P., set the ball rolling with an attack on the manner in which the Governor of Tamil Nadu, Mr. K. K. Shah, is functioning as head of the State. Presiding over the conference, he described the Governor as an agent of the Centre, "spying" on the state government and creating the impression that he was supervising its work.

Stating that his criticism did not imply any disrespect for Mr. Shah personally, Mr. Maran asked whether the office of Governor was necessary at all, having regard to the fact that the state government was spending as much as Rs. 13 lakhs on this gubernatorial post.

The Chief Minister, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, went a step further. "It has always been the stand of my party," he told the conference, "that there is no need for a Governor and the Constitution should be amended to dispense with this office." But he was cautious enough to qualify his statement by adding that until the Constitution was amended for the purpose, the DMK would continue to respect whoever occupied the office.

The orign of the controversy may be traced to the Governor's recent tours—when he met people in various parts of the state and received petitions from them, some of the representations being critical of the party in power. "I can understand if MLAs and MPs submit petitions to the Governor," Mr, Maran said, "but even people without addresses are meeting the Governor and he is talking to them." If the Governor meets people with ulterior motives, he says, they later issue statements giving distorted or untrue versions of what the Governor told them. "We cannot expect the Governor to reply to the statements. If he does not refute them, they assert that their statements are true. In such a context, the Governor becomes a subject of controversy. This should not happen."

Though Mr. Shah has prefered to keep out of the dispute, he has said that his meeting the people and receiving representations from them had the approval of the Chief Minister. Mr. Karunanidhi probably felt that there was no harm in the Governor doing so, as long as it did not affect the prestige of his party. But the moment a representation criticised the DMK, there was a flutter in the party dovecotes.

So far as can be discerned, the latest in the string of representations to the Governor appears to relate to the objectionable manner in which DMK leaders and members of the party went about collecting funds for the Madurai conference. Though Mr. Karunanidhi announced that the total collections through donations and sale of entrance tickets amounted to Rs. 5,10,000 those who were at Madurai during the conference are of the view that as the conference was held on a huge scale the expenditure must have been much more. The party bosses have denied that any coercion was used in the collections of funds for the conference.

A former Chief Minister, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, remarked that the approach of the DMK to the whole question of the Governor's activities was "amusing." He said that Mr. Shah "appears to be scrupulously adhering to constitutions." The DMK had, he added, exceeded the limit by objecting to the Governor receiving any representation from members of the public, criticising the government

When did the DMK change its policy on the office of Governor? Even after coming to power, it had not made an issue of the matter. It is interesting to note that the present Minister accorded almost a royal welcome to Mr. Shah when he came to Madras to take over as Governor. But the DMK was then a close ally of the Congress. Even the Rajamannar committee, a creation of the DMK administration, had not recommended abolition of the office of Governor.

It, therefore, stands to reason that the changed stance of the DMK is a consequence of the Madurai conference, the huge expenditure involved in it and the complaints of collections obtained under pressure.

What is the origin of the office, of Governor? It might sound strange that the post which was created by the Raj and was a British preserve till independence, had its genesis in a murder that took place in Madras in the early days of British rule. Under the Charter of Charles II, the Company found it had powers to appoint an Agent and Governor to try all persons for civil or criminal offences. Mr. Foxcroft, the first Governor, was styled Agent and Governor and directed to try a woman and her accomplices on the charge of murder. What thus started in a small way developed into a position of power and prestige under British rule.

The Sashtiabdapoorthi of Sri K. Jayaraman, Director and General Manager of the Madras Advertising Company Private Limited was celebrated on a grand scale at Little Kancheepuram. The couple were the recepients of numerous congratulatory messages and presents.

Under the Indian Constitution the Governor is first the de jure head of the State and secondly he is the "instrumentality of the Centre in the State." This dual role of the Governor must be emphasised in discussing the office.

The provisions of Chapter II of Part XI of the Constitution dealing with administrative, relations are comprehensive They enable the Governor to function on behalf of the Centre whose powers over the State even in peacetime are real and effective. In the discharge of his function, the Governor will have to obey really the behests of the Centre. Without causing offence to the State cabinet which is the de facto executive, the Governor possesses very real powers which he can exercise for the benefit of the State. This is probably what Mr. Shah is doing.

Mr. Maran alleges that the Governor is "supervising" the acitivities of the State Government. As a matter of fact, the Governor is the head of the State executive and as an appointee of the President he owes a duty to the Union. This is natural as India is a union of States. Further, under Article 160 of the Constitution, the President is empowered to make rules and such provision as he thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor of a State in a contingency not provided for.

The entire scheme of the Constitution is to centralise power and, no wonder, that in the discharge of the functions of the Governor not provided for, the Centre is permitted to intervene and make provision by rules. This Article of the Constitution, is peculiar to a quasifederal state like India—a provision not found in the Canadian Constitution which is a close parallel to the Indian Constitution.

It can thus be seen that to regard the Governor as a mere figurehead is a travesty of the Constitution which has conferred real powers on him. Nor is it fair to expect the de jure head of a State to function in such a manner as to suit the convenience and subserve the interests of the party in power. Under the Constitution, he has to perform his duties without fear or favour.

Of late, DMK leaders have expressed fears that the Centre is seeking an opportunity to topple the State Government. This has to a large extent contributed to the strained relationship between Delhi and Madras on the one hand and, on the other, the Ministry and the

(Contd. on page 8)

THUS SPAKE
THE MAHATMA

I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious.

ASOKA SCENTED BETEL NUT POWDER

Free India

SUNDAY Sep. 17, 1972.

RISING PRICES

Alarming reports are coming from various parts of the country about the steep increase in prices, especially those of essential commodities.

This has led to demonstrations and agitations by organised labour demanding higher wages.

The Government are ever ready to concede any demand provided it can bring peace, at least temporarily.

No serious attempt is made to find a permanent solution to the problem.

The right approach is to tackle it on a war basis.

It is common knowledge prices will not come down if production is not increased. Mere wage increase without some link to productivity is not going to help.

Instead of pampering the organised labour with little increments, sale of essential commodities at subsidised rates will really help in reducing distress.

There is much talk on these lines. But very little is done to meet the situation quickly.

A government which was able to keep a crore of Pakistani refugees can definitely find the solution if it approaches the problem seriously.

The Man Who Wrote Only Flops, And Best-Sellers

By PRIA KARUNAKAR

WHEN he discovered that his dog had chewed up the first draft of his novel *Of Mice and Men*, John Steinbeck was not mad, only slightly disconcerted. He stared at the dog in mock anger, then smiled and muttered, "my most percipient critic!"

Steinbeck knew Toby liked books; it had chewed up one before. And, Toby was not the only destructive genius around; Steinbeck himself had discarded at least four full-length novels in manuscript form.

That added up to six lost books destroyed by a fledgling writer and his spoiled pet. Incredible!

But, fortunately, Steinbeck wrote faster than he and Toby could destroy. And, the books that survived were enough to establish him as one of America's greatest and most versatile novelists, enough to win him the coveted Pulitzer and Nobel prizes.

LEAST KNOWN

Steinbeck has been one of America's most widely-read authors and yet, paradoxically, he has remained one of its least-known literary personalities Being an essentially shy and modest man, he wanted it this way. He avoided biographers, often telling them "to feel free to make up your own facts about me as you need them." He believed that biography, by its very nature, must be half fiction".

And, in his case at least, it certainly is.

This much is known. Steinbeck was born in the small Californian town of Salinas on February 27, 1902. His father was a miller and, for a while, treasurer of Monterey Country. His mother was a teacher who shared with him her love of books. Tall, strong and independent he grew up, taking only those courses that suited him at Stanford University, and dropping out at times to work at building roads

He set out for New York in 1925 to be a writer without having earned his degree, and got a job reporting for *The New York Journal*... till he was sacked for refusing to keep to the simple facts and avoid poetic embroidery.

UNSUCCESSFUL

Steinbeck returned west and weathered two winters as watchman in the high Sierra Mountains where he wrote his first novel, *Cup of Gold* (1929), about a seventeenth century Caribbean pirate. It flopped, but brought in enough for him to get marr.ed in 1930. This was followed by two more unsuccessful novels, in one of which, however, he struck the unerring Steinbeck vein. *The Pastures of Heaven* was about people he had met and talked to, twelve miles from Monterey. This caught the eye of New York publisher Pascal Covici who launched *Tortilla Flat* in 1935, undeterred by the fact that the book had already been turned down by seven publishers. A galloping comedy about three ne'er-do-well Mexican-Americans who find it difficult to be law-abiding, the book became an instant best-seller and was subsequently made into a motion picture. John Steinbeck had arrived, at long last!

The next successful novel, *Of Mice and Men*, appeared in 1937. It showed great literary maturity, and proved a great success. A tender and tense story of two homeless, wandering farm workers, the novel was adapted into a prize-winning play, and later into a film.

WORLD CLASS

However, it was with his next book, *The Grapes of Wrath*(1939) that Steinbeck established himself as a world-class novelist. Stark with the bleakness of the worst Depression years, it recounted the westward migration of the dispossessed farmers from the dust-bowl of America to the fertile valleys of California where they suffered and survived against overwhelming odds in the land of plenty. Some critics believe this was Steinbeck's greatest novel; certainly none other was written with the same combination of passionate conviction and understanding of the individual within the momentum of the group. It won the Pulitzer Prize and was made into a film.

Then, the war broke out, and Steinbeck modestly offered his services as war correspondent, travelling through Europe and North Africa. His long trips disrupted his home life: he was divorced, re-married twice and had two sons.

By 1951, he was ready with another major novel that he considered the best he had ever written: "I'm fifty years old. If *East of Eden* isn't any good, then I've been wasting my time." The novel spanned three generations of two neighbouring families in Salinas. In it Steinbeck tried to broach his philosophy of good and evil, inherited guilt, and its liberation through free will. It did very well and was made into a film.

NOBEL PRIZE

A decade later, in 1961 Steinbeck published *The Winter of Our Discontent*, the story of a suburban grocer's assistant who, coming from an old and honourable family, permits himself to lose his honour through fear of insecurity. It is a story of steady disenchantment, and comes strangely from a writer who had always been a fighting man. The book was highly acclaimed as home and abroad. He won the Nobel Prize in 1962.

The same year, he travelled through the United States with his dog in search of the American image, and published *Travels with Chorlay*, one of the best word-pictures of America that has ever been written.

Early in 1966, Steinbeck went to Vietnam as a war correspondent for *Newsday*, a New York newspaper. He returned to write at his home at Sag Harbour, Long Island, but by 1968 his health began to decline and he died in New York, aged sixty six.

One sees Steinbeck as a bearded outdoor man with a strong mouth sharing a drink with the working man on the street, and returning to his typewriter. After an initial hesitation there is a growing absorption with what is emerging under his finger that becomes an obsession till the thing is done. Then the inevitable fatigue, uncertainty and slight resentment of criticism. Just as Steinbeck wrote about people, he wrote for people, and he was unhappy when he could not get across to them.

"GRAPES OF WRATH"

He could only write well when he was deeply moved. At first what moved him was social and economic injustice, and passionate respect for human beings under stress. *The Grapes of Wrath* was a terrible indictment of the soeiety that robbed the share-croppers of their land only to crush and humiliate them again when they picked up and moved west. Yet it was also a celebration of spiritual survival under these conditions.

It was precisely this faith in the endurance of human compassion that is the essence of Steinbeck's greatness. It came from an intimate understanding of how men suffer: pain and death walk hand in hand with living, this is a constantly recurring focus for Steinbeck. The land is symbolic of this paradox.

The land has its own mysterious life: turtles crawl in the dust, butterflies flutter in the brush. Yet man lives off land. Fallow land must not run to waste. A man must be able to give his life to the land, sifting stones from the soil, ploughing and dreaming for it. When Steinbeck spoke of these things he spoke with the conviction that comes from remembered experience. During the thirty years of his continued literary exploration the face of America had changed, and a way of life had passed away.

The Briefest Session In Congress History

By J. N. SAHNI

A veteran journalist, J. N. Sahni, was editor of The Hindustan Times in 1926 and subsequently became the editor of The Indian News Chronicle. He joined the national struggle in 1921 and was imprisoned twice for his political activities. He was Secretary-General of the All India Newspapers' Editors Conference for several years and a member of the Indian Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly from 1957 to 1961.

Even in the archives of the Indian National Congress the record of its briefest and yet most historic session is scrappy. This Session was held in Delhi in the April of 1932. It lasted a little over forty-five minutes. It resulted in the arrest of all the office bearers, more than 600 of the delegates, and 2,000 and more spectators. A thousand or more seeking arrest were repeatedly beaten off out of the police vans because of lack of space in prison, and an open-air barbed wire stockade was specially constructed for the occasion.

In the early part of 1932, after the return of Mahatma Gandhi from attending the second Round Table Conference in London, for the first time in its forty-seven years of existence the Indian National Congress was declared an unlawful body. Mahatma Gandhi himself was arrested, along with the then President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Working Committee decided to renew nation-wide civil disobedience.

ORDINANCES

Apart from declaring the Indian National Congress and all its associate bodies unlawful, Government imposed as many as nineteen ordinances, muzzling the press, making membership of the Congress a penal offence, forbidding anyone preventing a Government servant from the discharge of his duties, making parents responsible for offences by their minor wards, and subjecting areas where any political offences occurred to joint penal fines.

Within a few months more than a hundred thousand had been sent to prison, most Congress offices had been taken possession of, Congress funds in banks had been confiscated, several newspaper presses had been shut down and a general reign of terror had been let loose.

The Congress still continued to defy the Government ban. Each Congress President nominated his successor before arrest and Congress Working Committees followed one after the other. Sardar Vallabhbhai had been followed by Dr. Ansari, Khaliquzzaman and Maulana Azad, who had all been arrested. Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad were in prison in Delhi. Finally Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who always wavered between Congress extremism and legislative liberlism was nominated as Congress President.

Meanwhile the annual session of the Indian National Congress was scheduled to be held on the 9th of April. The holding of it became the responsibility of Pandit Malaviya. In March, his son Govind Malaviya came to Delhi, and informed me that I had been nominated General Secretary, and that I and the Congress leaders in Delhi were to make preparations for holding the annual session in defiance of the Government ban. It was a responsibility none of us could shirk. It was decided that a formal announcement would be delayed till all the secret preparations had been completed. While the preparations had to be secret, the defiance had to be open.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

A Reception Committee was soon formed with Lala Shankar Lall as Chairman and Shrimati Satyawati as Secretary. A courier system was established to contact Congress cells in different parts of the country. Secret instructions were sent out to delegates to try to reach contact centres near and around Delhi before the 9th, and await being ushered into the city by secret arrangements.

Those from the East, for example, were to collect in small villages near Faridabad and Ghaziabad. Those coming from the North and the West were to find accommodation in villages near Gurgaon and Panipat. Except the office bearers, all prominent Congressmen left the city to spread out, and organise the reception, location and transportation of delegates.

After the official announcement was made, I expected that I and other office bearers would be arrested. This, however, did not happen. By keeping us out, and under very close surveilance, rhe police hoped to know of the preparations and to forestall them. A week before the session all persons holding tickets to Delhi, and looking like Congressmen were taken off the trains and interrogated or arrested.

In the Fort area, in the Municipal gardens opposite the Clock Tower in Chandni Chowk, and along the Jamuna thousands of policemen were encamped. At strategic places outside the city military pickets with armoured cars were stationed. A thorough watch was kept in the city to trace Congressmen who had gone underground.

While the date of the session in Delhi had been announced, we kept the venue where the session was to be held, secret. We started making preparations of sorts in the open space around the Jama Masjid, which we declared to associates would be most suitable for an evening session, since even ordinarily more than 10,000 people collected in the area at evening time.

As a second preference we discussed the advantages of the Jamuna bank, for a morning session where four to five thousand people always gathered for a morning bath. We started collecting wooden *takhts* from the *pujaris* and large planks to improvise a platform.

A third place we optioned would be a spacious park in Kashmiri Gate, where some of the colleges were then located, and where students could easily congregate at any time.

While these places were secretly discussed, I had openly declared that the session would be held in Chandni Chowk, in the square around the Clock Tower, opposite the Municipal Hall. Police informants refused to accept the obvious, and kept feeding the officials with the secret discussions.

DELEGATES

Meanwhile delegates began to arrive in small batches from the contact stations Some came as members of village marriage parties specially arranged for the purpose. Quite a few were smuggled in hay carts. From across the Jamuna every morning as part of the milk line, they would wade the river with pitchers on their head which instead of milk were full of lime and water.

As they arrived they were guided to pre-arranged billets in private houses and dharamsalas in the city streets. These secret arrangements worked successfully. The police felt more than confident that few if any outside delegates could have entered the city. In fact delegates had come not only from the Punjab and the United Provinces, but from Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and far off Coimbatore.

To lend openness to the defiance, it was duly announced that the President Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would reach the city by car via Ghaziabad, early in the morning. An appeal was issued to the citizens to receive him at the Jamuna bridge. It was also unofficially allowed to be rumoured that soon after the President had been received at the railway bridge, the session would be held at the Jamuna banks in the morning and opposite the Jama Musjid in the evening. Volunteers were deputed to make open air preparations in both places.

Meanwhile the Sikhs arranged a mammoth congregation at the Gurdwara Sisganj near the Central Police Station, in celebration of one of their festivals. On the morning of April 9 the police had cleared up the area around Jama Masjid and had assembled in great force at the Jamuna bank and the Railway bridge.

The police around the Gurdwara were taken by surprise, when near nine o'clock, the time for the arrival of the Congress President, the entire congregation of a few thousands decided to go in procession to the Railway bridge to receive Pt. Malaviya. A big posse of police naturally followed the congregation, not knowing whether it was a legal or illegal gathering. In the camp in the Municipal Gordens not a policeman was to be seen. The entire force had been concentrated at the Kashmiri Gate, the Jumma bridge and the Jama Masjid.

As soon as word was brought that Pandit Malavia had been arrested, Congress delegates wearing their badges, giving their names and their city, emerged from out of the city streets, converging into the large square around the Clock Tower. The number of official delegates present was more than 800. Local members of the Reception Committee numbered another eight hundred.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT

The delegates formally proposed and elected Seth Ranchoddas, a delegate from Ahmedabad, as Congress President. I had been arrested the night before. Five formal resolutions were moved and passed with brief speeches. Meanwhile a large crowd had collected around the delegates. A police van casually passing by was the first to learn that the annual session was being held at the Clock Tower.

As the word went round hundreds of policemen rushed to Chandni Chowk. A large number of people had already been arrested at the Jamuna bridge. The police were in such confusion not knowing which was more illegal, the crowd at the Jamuna bridge or the audience at the Clock Tower! Lorries were blindly filled with whoever offered to be arrested.

There seemed no dearth of volunteers. After a few thousand had been arrested, the number seeking arrest went on swelling till all the barracks, and open yards in the jail, and a stockade of barbed wire that had been quickly improvised were chock-full. Finally the police resorted to a mass lathi charge; beating up all and sundry to clear Chandni Chowk of the congregating crowds.

By evening time besides Pandit Malavia we had two Congress Presidents, Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad with us in prison, four or five members of the Working Committee, and

(*Contd. on page* 8)

THE FAMOUS ASTROLOGER (OFFICE ESTD: 1924)

Recipient of many gold Medals and Certificates from Maharajas, Judges and Notables. Annual life reading, monthly details Rs.5/-. 3 questions Rs. 2/-. Horoscope or writing time required.

Vivaga Porutthangal in Tamil Re.1
Jotisha Janabodhini—Tamil Rs. 2-50.

Pt. Kaliyur M.Srinivasa Chariar
"THAPONIDHI" Phone: 443654
Thyagarayanagar, Madras-17.

From page 5

Governor, who is looked upon by the DMK as an agent of the Centre.

Mr. Maran told the Madurai conference that the Congress Party at the Centre had already tried twice to topple the DMK Government—once by interfering in the labour dispute in the Simpson group and again by financing and manipulatiag the farmers' struggle in Tamil Nadu But it had not given up its designs on the DMK Government and is looking for another opportunity, he added.

The so-called 'toppling move" became the principal subject of discussion at the Madurai conference Stress was laid on the demand for autonomy and threats of secession of Tamil Nadu from the Indian Union were held out if the demand was not conceded.

Mr. A. V. P. Asaithambi, an influential DMK member, reiterated the secession threat, even though the DMK leaders have been repeatedly stating that the party had long ago given up the separatist idea. Mr. Asaithambi warned that any attempt to topple the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu would end in separation.

With the comfortable majority the DMK enjoyed in Tamil Nadu, he said, it would not be difficult to convene the Legiative Assembly and declare Tamil Nadu a separate state. "All that will happen is the Army might be sent here," he observed, and asked, "Did Yahya Khan succeed in Bangla Desh?"

The result of all that has happened recently in the State is that the DMK is dogged by a terrible fear that the Centre may topple the DMK Government on some pretext or the other. Spokesmen of the Central Government have repeatedly denied any such intention. DMK leaders are presumably afraid that the Governor may, on the basis of information collected through petitions and other representations, make an adverse report to the Centre, which could lead to the "toppling' of the State Government.

Letter to Editor

PRE-ELECTION SHOW ?

Sir,

Every other day news emanates from Washington that Vietnam War is ending soon. First it was Rogers, then the James Bond style diplomat Kissinger & then President and now South Vietnamese puppet Thieu himself has announced that the Vietnam war would end very soon—may be by September—end. What is the basis for such assumptions? How America really prepared the blueprint for an immediate peace in Vietnam?—Any new plans in America's portfolio?

One would have felt so if there had been even the slightest improvemnt in the War situation in Vietnam, a temporary lull in in the American bombing or a nominal cease-fire. But we find nothing of the sort. America is still escalating its barbarity against the Vietnamese patriots and civilian inhabitants. The American side is still sabotaging all quests in Paris for a formula of political settlement. The war still continues and the American bombs still fall on Vietnamese towns and villages and on dyke-systems. The air-war is extended to the sea and American warships are bombarding North vietnamese ports.

Then why such announcements? We get a clue to this riddle if only we observe that the frequency of such announcements is increasing with the presidential election date drawing nearer. The whole thing actually transpires to be a part of America's pre election show.

This is confirmed by the story just out about the secret visit of Henry Kissinger to Saigon recently.

Before flying from Paris the president's aide, it is learnt found time to whisper to a friend (and this friend was quick to pass the whisper on to a French magazine) that the Vietnam war would finish at the end of September.

That was enough for the Western press to make all sorts of conjectures about "Washington's new peace plans" and assumptions that the Paris talks have entered a critical positive phase."

In reality, it is the presidential election campaign in the United States that is entering a critical phase.

The progapandists of the Republican Party including their nominee Mr. Nixon are brandishing the myth of a "new peace plan" in the hope that it will help them to mislead American public opinion which is dead-set against the continuation of Vietnam War, and win the election tussel. We have to wait and see if they succeed in this duping game.

K. SANTHANAM.

From page 7

odd delegates. When the Deputy Commissioner came to visit us, he sarcastically remarked, "But I saw to it that there would be no evening session." I told him on the contrary no place could be better to hold a legal session of the illegal Congress, than the prison, where we have a complete quorum, three Presidents, and other office-bearers available." He had the last lavgh, when he said "I will see that your audience at least is less by two thousand."

As a matter of fact, finding that the Jail authorities could not provide either food or accommodation for so many prisoners, he had come to set free all those who were not delegates or office bearers or members of the reception committee.

Indian artistes in the Soviet Union answering a curtain call. (See article on last cover)

It's Nothing To Me

By VICTOR GOLYAVKIN

Victor Golyavkin's literary career started ten or twelve years ago. A writer and artist, he illustrates his own funny short stories for children. His latest work is a sad and poetic novel for children "My Kind Daddy". Here we offer to our readers' attention Victor Golyavkin's short story 'It's Nothing to Me."

THE school year was over. All the kids from the grade collected in the school yard to discuss summer plans. His voice, rising above the hubbub, Volodya cried:

"Let's write Anna Petrovna from wherever we go. About what we saw and how we spent the time."

"A jolly good idea!" all the others cried.

Volodya's idea was accepted by everyone.

The boys and girls went to all sorts of places. Klim went to stay with his relatives in a village. And at once he sat down to write a letter, a whole five pages long.

In it he wrote:

"In the village I saved drowning people. They were all very pleased. One chap whom I saved said: 'If not for you I'd have drowned.' But I told him: 'It's nothing to me.' He said; 'Thanks awfully.' I said: 'There s no need to, because it's nothing to me.'

"I must have saved some fifty or a hundred folk. Or perhaps even more. But then they stopped drowning and there was nobody to save.

"Then I spotted a broken rail. And I stopped a whole train. People came rushing out of the coaches. They hugged me and praised me. Many even kissed me. Many asked for my address and I gave it to them. Many offered me presents but I said: 'No, please, not that.' Many took snapshots of me and I photographed with many. Then there were many who asked me to go off with them right that very moment. But I couldn't leave Grannie behind. I hadn't warned her!

"Then I saw a blazing house. The flames were terrible. And there was so much smoke, 'Oh!' I said to myself, 'There must be somebody inside.'

"All around beams were falling. Some behind and some in front. Some more fell at the side. One fell on my shoulder. Two or three fell on the other side. Five fell right on my head. Some more fell somewhere else. But I paid no heed. I hunted all through the house but could find nobody only a cat. I ran out with the cat in my arms. The owners of the house were standing right there They held water melons in their arms. 'Thanks for Pussy,' they said. 'We're just back from the shop.' They gave me one of the water melons. Then all began to put the fire out.

"Then I saw an old lady. She was crossing the street. I at once went up to her. 'Please, permit me,' I said, 'to direct you across.' I took her across and crossed back. Some more old ladies came up. I took them across too. Some ladies did'nt need to cross, but I said: Please I'll take you across and back and you'll again be here.'

"They all told me: 'If not for you we'd never have crossed.' But I said: 'It's nothing to me.'

"Two or three old ladies didn't want to cross. They were just sitting on a bench and looking at the other side. When I asked them whether they needed to cross, they said they didn't. When I asked them why not stretch a leg, they said: 'Indeed, why not take a walk?, I took all of them across. They sat down on a bench there. They didn't want to go back. Though I asked and asked."

Klim wrote a lot. He was very pleased with his letter.

And he mailed it.

Summer was over and school began again. In class Anna Petrovna said:

"Very many of you wrote me letters. They are very nice and interesting. I'll read some of them to you."

"It's coming now, "Klim thought. "I wrote of many heroic deeds in my letter. Everybody is going to praise me and gasp."

Anna Petrovna read many of the letters.

"I know why," Klim thought. "They've sent my letter to the papers. To be printed. Perhaps they'll even have my picture in the paper. And everybody'll say: 'Look, that's him'. But I'll say: 'So what? It's nothing to me!"

—

YES, WHY?

Your eyes are Hazel,
Your mouth is Rose,
Your skin is Olive,
Your laugh is Mary,
You are all Grace—

Now why on earth did they have to go and christen you Annie!

* * *

"Mabel is going around telling lies about me."

"Don't worry now, dear. Wait till she starts telling the truth."

* * *

"Don't you find that children brighten up the home?"

"Yes, our electric light bills are enormous."

TATA MEMORANDUM ON INDUSTRIAL GROWTH-4

Joint Sector Concept

(The first three parts were pupiished in our last three issues.)

As there are many possible forms a joint enterprise can take, it is necessary, before discussing the matter in greater detail, to have a minimum agreed definition of the joint sector concept. Our views and recommendation in this memorandum are based on the assumption that a joint sector enterprise is intended to be a form of partnership between the private sector and Government in which Government's participation in the capital will be not less than 26 per cent, the day-to-day management will normally be in the hands of the private sector partner, and control and supervision will be exercised by a board of directors on which Government is adequately represented.

As is no doubt known to Government, it was Tatas who pioneered the joint sector concept a quarter century ago when they created Air-India International jointly with the Government of India. Even today Tatas are in the process of formulating a proposal for submission to Government for a joint sector project aimed at doubling the steel capacity of the Jamshedpur plant. We have, therefore, obviously no bias against this concept and are, on the contrary, very receptive to the principle of co-operation between the public and the private sector which we believe to offer special advantages in some cases. There is a danger, however, against which we must warn, of treating this concept as a universal solution of the problem of finding a means to make use of the growth potential of companies within larger house groups without departing from Government's present industrial policies. Putting a project into the joint sector may indeed provide an effective solution in some instances, but it may also be ineffective and self-defeating in others.

Factors to be considered :

The nature and needs of each case, its back-ground and economic viability; the weaknesses to be remedied or the strength to be provided the previous history of the company concerned if the proposal is to transfer a private sector company to the joint sector; the extent of existing Government ownership; the compatibility of the two "partners"; the reason why growth in the particular industry has been unsatisfactory; whether the Government "partners," should be the Central Government or a State Government, or a combination of the two; the terms of the "partnership", the extent of Government and Private participations are all factors to be carefully considered and weighed in each case before coming to a decision.

The following fundamental questions should be answered in every case before coming to a decision to put a project in the Joint Sector:

(i) What is the justification for bringing a company into the joint sector, as an alternative to leaving it alone or taking it over;

(ii) what should be the form and terms of such action; and

(iii) which should be the Government agency concerned.

There cannot be a single and simple answer to any of these questions. Each case must be treated on merit and in the light of the nature and extent of the various factors. In each case, the objective sought to be achieved by a joint sector solution in preference to any other should be clearly established and consistent with providing the enterprise with the best, most flexible and speedy management of the project. Where the joint sector solution involves conversion from a private sector company, the legitimate interests of the existing shareholders should be safeguarded.

Criteria and Guiding Principles

Certain general commonsense criteria and guiding principles can, however, be laid down.

At one end of the scale, the need for a preponderant and permanent injection of capital by Government and/or Government Financial Institutions would clearly provide justification for a joint sector solution either by creating an entirely new company or by bringing an existing company into the joint sector as an alternative to taking it over.

As a typical instance mentioned earlier, if Government were to decide that the Tata Iron and Steel Company should increase its capacity from 2 million to say 4 million tonnes, at the cost of the order of Rs. 700 to 800 crores, half or more of which would necessarily have to come from Government sources, it is clear that such a project could not be undertaken by the Company on its own. In view of the highly motivated, experienced and competent management of Tata Steel, built up over many years and imbued with long traditions of national and social services, there would be clear advantage in making the new project a joint sector one, either within the present company or by creating a new company as was done in the case of Air India International. This would ensure that full use was made of the existing management without loss of morale and efficiency.

At the other end of the scale, for relatively minor projects, other than a very few that might involve some special factors including national security justifying tight Government control, there would rarely be any case for the joint sector solution, at least between a company in the private sector and the Central Government.

From this follows one criterion

(Contd. on page 10)

From page 9

we would suggest, namely, that only major projects requiring investment of very large funds by the Central Government between *the Central Government* and a private sector company.

There could always be exceptions as, for instance, in the case of a small or medium company making essential and scarce raw materials, such as coking coal or copper.

Otherwise we would advocate that in cases of all projects involving less than, say, Rs. 5 crores, the joint sector concept, if found necessary, should preferably be between private enterprise and the government of the State in which the project would be located. This process has, in fact, already been started in various parts of the country, particularly Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The State Governments are in many ways the most appropriate for undertaking joint ownership of industries because they are directly concerned with and interested in, many aspects of the project as, for instance, in the supply of power in the employment of labour, in developing a backward area, etc.

We therefore recommend that, normally, the joint sector should consist of a partnership between private sector companies and State Governments. But where the funds required to be provided by the Government partner are in excess of what can be expected from a State Government, and, also in the case of projects forming part of a national industry which requires to be treated as an integrated one and, therefore to be closely coordinated, the Central Government should be the partner or, possibly, a joint partner with a State Government along with the Private Sector.

As regards the exact form and structure a joint enterprise should adopt and the terms of the collaboration between Government and private enterprise, the two main elements to be decided on are the allocation of the capital between Government whether Central or States, and the private sector and who should provide in the day-to-day management of the project.

Capital allocation:

On the question of the allocation of capital, it is obvious that, where Government have necessarily to provide the bulk of the capital, they should be the majority partners but not necessarily in proportion to their total investment. In our view, wherever possible, Government's share of the equity including that of the Financial Institutions should not exceed 51 per cent or thereabouts, the balance of Government investment being in the form of long term loans.

Where it is not considered essential that Government should hold the majority of capital, we would normally advocate the division of the capital ownership as 26 per cent to the Government partner, 25 per cent to the company partner, and the balance to the public.

It is clear that there are many possible permutations and combinations. The choice should in each case, be governed by what will produce the best results, that is, the quickest implementation of the project and the most efficient management. Where private capital from private enterprise is not forthcoming to the desired extent, Government would obviously have to make up the deficit.

Management

The question of management is, in our view, of primary importance. The very fact that in any specific case, Government favour a joint sector solution must surely indicate that they believe that management by the private sector partner will be better than public sector management.

It must however be understood from the start that whatever the advantage of putting a project or private sector company into the joint sector, it will inevitably result in some reduction in managerial efficiency and despatch if the company is then subjected by the representatives of Government or Government lending agencies on its Board, to the kind of supervision and control envisaged in the current guidelines mentioned earlier. These will automatically result in creating much additional and largely fruitless work and delays, curtail management's freedom of decision and action, and inhibit initiative and the willingness to take legitimate risks, thus frustrating the basic factors which make private management effective and productive. The personal experience of a number of Directors of Tata Industries, including myself, in the working of joint and public sector enterprises, shows this to be true.

There will thus be an intangible but real price to be paid for such advantage as may arise from bringing an enterprise into the joint sector. It is important, therefore, that realising this fact, whatever the form of any joint sector enterprise and the share of Government, Government should, from the start, decide that the day-to-day management of joint sector enterprise should remain in the hands of the private sector partner and should, in any case, not be burdened with the cumbersome and time-consuming procedures enforced in public sector enterprises. The writer is in fact strongly of the view that the same principle should apply to public sector enterprises where lack of autonomy, and unnecessarily cumbersome procedures are amongst the causes of the poor results achieved by many public sector enterprises.

There are public sector enterprises which make a profit and to which funds from the public could be attracted. The Shipping Corporation of India and the Indian Oil Company are cases in point. We see no reason why Government, with a view to releasing funds for other priority projects, should not think of taking opportunities of divesting themselves of a monetary share of public sector enterprises, which would then become one form of joint sector enterprises.

Cooperative Sector

In this memorandum, only the private, public and joint sectors have been mentioned. There is also the cooperative sector to be considered. We believe that, like in other countries, the cooperative sector will have an important role to play in Indian industry. The Amul complex at Anand in Gujarat is an example of what can be achieved by a well organised and planned co-operative enterprise, particularly in the case of agrobased industries.

The cooperative sector has received enormous support from Governments, Central and State, during the past few years. There is evidence to show that some of that support has been misused or abused and also that the cooperative movement has in some areas been subjected to unhealthy political influence. While co-operative movement must remain largely within the realm of State Governments the Central Government could, and should, pay a positive role in helping the movement to organise itself on sound lines and develop its activities to medium and in some cases, large scale manufacturing industries.

Conclusion

Never before has Indian industries been called upon to undertake so great and complex a task as it faces in the current decade. For only industrial growth can generate the funds required by Government, at the Centre and in the States, to finance not only existing development plans, but also the massive schemes specifically aimed at alleviating the distress of the millions of our people below the poverty line.

For this purpose, the current rate of growth of industrial production of less than 4 per cent must, at least, be doubled; investment in industry must be substantially stepped up not only to achieve the increased rate of growth, but must also make up for the grossly inadequate investment of earlier years. Above all, industries producing basic articles and goods for consumption by the masses must be immensely expanded and new ones created, for without adequate supplies of these basic necessities economic growth will mean little or nothing to our teeming millions who would indeed be the first victims of the resulting inflation.

We in Tatas hardly need assure Government that in the fulfilment of these great national goals, we shall, as always, be ready to make whatever contribution we are permitted to make. If in the course of this paper there have been areas in which we have felt impelled to express views not wholly consistent with Government's present thinking or policies, it is not because we disagree on the goals, but only on the means adopted to achieve them.

The task of increasing industrial investment and production calls for simultaneous efforts on the part of all productive elements in the country. With the four industrial sectors all working together and supplementing one another's efforts encouraged and guided by Government, industrial production can be greatly accelerated, while serving the requirements of social justice.

—Concluded

TIT FOR TAT

MR. Bhutto's decision to appoint Raja Tridib Kumar Roy as leader of the Pakistani delegation to the U.N. general assembly is entirely in character.

The Raja, a member of the Buddhist minority, is one of the few Bangladeshis to have defected to Pakistan. His presence at the head of the Pakistani delegation is therefore expected to make an impression of sorts on the world community.

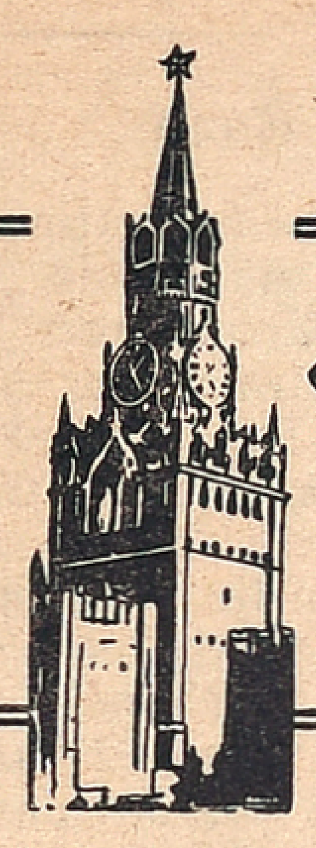
By sending him to Turtle Bay, the Pakistani president also hopes to avenge the success of Bangladesh in sending to West Asia as roving ambassador a distinguished West Pakistani diploment, Mr Iqbal Athar, who resigned from the Pakistani foreign service in disgust against the atrocities committed by the military regime on the people of what was then East Bengal and later offered his services to the government of Bangladesh.

Interestingly, these goings-on are reminiscent of the tactics that the Congress and the Muslim League followed just before independence and partition.

When the Viceroy invited both the parties to nominate their representatives for inclusion in the interim government Mr. Jinnah sharply objected to the Congress decision to include Maulana Azad among its nominees. Claiming that the League alone had the right to name Muslim members, he boycotted the interim government formed on September 2, 1946 under Mr. Nehru's leadership. But when he realised that he could not have his way, he appointed four Muslims and one Harijan as the League's nominees.

The Harijan representative was Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal who later migrated to Karachi and retained his seat in the Pakistan cabinet. But soon he found things so hot that he sought refuge in India.

—*Times of India*



Muscovite's Diary

Ivan Ivanov

INDIAN OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW...

My Indian friends in Moscow were quite busy last week because of the visit of the official Indian delegation. Cars moving about with the bright Indian Tricolour flag on the bonnet and Indians in their national dress were quite a familiar sight in the Soviet Capital.

Soviet journalists too can identify some of the top Indian officials and Mr. T. N. Kaul, India's Foreign Secretary, is one of them. His interview to a TASS Correspondent summing up his impression of his latest talks in Moscow was widely published in the Soviet papers.

In the course of the interview Mr. Kaul said that he was completely satisfied with the results of his consultations. "The talks were fruitful and successful and were held in a spirit of mutual understanding and friendship" he informed.

He expressed the belief that he talks that just concluded int Moscow were another step on the road to further development of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the various fields and were a contribution to the consolidation of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. Prospects for fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and India are virtually unlimited, said Mr. Kaul.

He reiterated the fact that the friendship between the two countries is not directed against any other country. "Its object is to consolidate peacc and international co operation", he concluded

ANGELA DAVIS IN MOSCOW...

Another important visitor to Moscow last week, in welcoming whom the entire people of the USSR could be said to have joined, was Angela Davis, the glorious daughter of the American people.

The public meeting organised to accord a welcome to Angela truly reflected the mood of the entire nation and Nikolai Tikhonov, dozen of Sovlet poets and Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee echoed the real sentiments of the people when he said. "Dear Angela, there is no greater joy and happiness for people than to see the triumph of the just cause for which they have consciously and purposefully fought; all Soviet people are boundlessly happy to greet you an outstanding champion of peace, civil rights and social justice."

Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkhova, the first woman-cosmonaut of the world and Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee in extending a hearty welcome to Angela Davis said, "dear Angela, we would like to convey to you our cordial feelings and loyalty to principles and ideological convictions, which helped you to come out victor in this bitter encounter with the enemies of freedom and social progress."

Maria Shchetinia, Spokesman for the Soviet Peace Fund said that the Soviet mothers looked upon Angela as their own dear daughter.

When the tail, graceful girl, with the features now familiar to the whole world, entered the hall of the Head Quarters of the Soviet Peace Committee where reception was held, the entire audience jumped up and gave her standing ovation.

The Soviet people felt it as their hour of triumph for, millions of them resolutely protested for more than 20 months, together with progressive forces of the USA and the whole world, against the arbitrariness of the US Authorities and demanded "Freedom for Angela Davis."

Angela Davis in her reply said:

"It is not accidental that in our tour of the socialist countries in Europe and Latin America, the Soviet Union is our first step. The Californian authorities had to yield to the pressure brought to bear by the progressive public and were forced to release me. The protest of the whole world proved to be stronger than Californian Law."

A Palekh ornamental casket with a view of Red Square, was presented to her as a souvenir on behalf of the organisations that took part in the gathering.

Several more meetings to welcome Angela Davis are being arranged.

It may be recalled that Angela Davis was arbitrarily arrested and implicated in a criminal case of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy by the American authorities. She was ultimately found not-guilty by the jury.

* * *

"VANA MAHOTHSAVA" IN MOSCOW....

I know that tree planting is observed as a national festival in India, called the "Vana Mahothsava" for the past several years, and a similar thing happened in Moscow also this year.

The months of July and August were unusually dry in this region and the plants in the city needed special attention.

Muscovites responded with enthusiasm to an appeal from the the local authorities to "help our green friends." Thousands were in the streets and squares from the early morning on a holiday, watering trees and shrubs that were suffering from this year's severe summer. Apart from the heat, there was only about half an inch of rain in Moscow In July instead of the usual four inches or so.

The volunteers, with the help of a large number of machines, loosened the soil and watered the plants.

Scientists are of the view that one acre of greenery takes most of the impuritles out of 250 million cubic feet of air and that a single plane-tree absorbs 2½ lbs. of dust and a third of surrounding noise.

Angela Davis in Moscow

Crossed Wires

When the U S. Moonship Apollo-16 was some 250,000 kilometres from the Earth, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration people following the flight on the ground were puzzled to hear curious interference on the same frequency the astronauts were using: a voice speaking English with a marked Spanish accent, then some music, a sneeze and finally several blows. The voices of the astronauts came through quite normally.

Subsequent investigation traced the mysterious sneezes, etc., to a technician of the Spanish telephone network who chanced to connect with the cable of one of the American tracking stations.

From page 3

V.V.S. Aiyar

Madras, whose name might be either John Bruce Norton or Branson. After long consultations, the lawyers for the Maharajah came to the conclusion that adoption being a religious act required for the performance of certain religious ceremonies, the Maharajah had no need to wait for anybody's sanction and that he could privately adopt the boy he wanted to, with all due ceremonies, and later make it public officially. Having settled the procedure, Tirumalachar and the English barrister started for Bangalore on their way to Mysore. The all-powerful British Resident prohibited Tirumalachar from proceeding to Mysore. So he stopped in Bangalore and asked his British Colleague to proceed to Mysore and have the adoption carried out as proposed."

SIVAGANGA ZAMIN

Obviously, Tirumalachar was a man to reckon with, because of the successful manner he conducted the Mysore Maharajah's adoption, he was much sought after by others in high positions. He had dealings with the Nawab of Arcot, then a "pensioner" of the Madras Govt, and conducted the famous Sivaganga Zamindari case, for which he received a lawyer's fee of 20,000 rupees, not a small amount those days. Tirumalachar's knowledge in and love of Indian culture was deep and he was very generous towards learned orthodox scholars. The respect he commanded in Triplicane was great. British authorities misunderstood it, considering it an impingement of their own "sovereignty" over the people. Thus, during the First War of Independence in 1857, the Madras Police were instructed to keep an eye on him. They had even orders to arrest him if necessary. But a high Police official, Police Ramachandra Rao, allayed their fears and Tirumalachar escaped arrest.

Mandayam Srinivasacharya's own father, S. T. Krishnamachar was a chip of the old block, and his love of Independence went one step further. He was a student of the Madras Christian College under that eminent educationist Dr. William Miller. He was an able manager of the family properties and was very well versed in Vaishnavite philosophy. He passed his Bible Examination in the College without even attending the Bible classes. He was a great admirer of Gautama Buddha and had a theory that the Vaishnavite Saint-poet Nammalwar, born a thousand years after the Buddha on another Vaisakha Poornima (the full moon of the month of Baisakh) was an avatar of the Buddha. It was he who named the family house at No. 3, Peyalwar Koil Street as "Gautama Ashram", a name which it retains to this day.

When S. T. Krishnamachar completed his B.A. degree and wanted to take to law to become an attorney, unfortunately, a family dispute arose and his younger brother S. T. Narasimhachar wanted a partition of the commonly managed family properties. Krishnamachar had on oral promises lent large sums of money to the Zamindar of Karvetnagar and others, and the two brothers agreed to an equitable division of the family properties. Just as they were about to put it into action, the younger brother Narasimhachar died in the People's Park Exhibition fire of 1886. The legal representatives of his heirs refused to put through the arrangement and got the court to appoint a receiver to effect a division that would prove disastrous to Krishnamachar. When the Court Order came, Krishnamachar was in a fix, as it would leave him with few assets and large liabilities. So, to escape this situation, he went away to Mysore State. But the other party obtained an arrest warrant for contempt of Court and got him behind prison bars for a few months. His reputation ruined and properties mostly lost, S. T. Krishnamachar, after his release from jail removed himself to Pondicherry in French India, an agonised man. Fortunately, however, the Receiver appointed by the Court got the loans collected and Krishnamachar got a fair share of the family properties. Good sense prevailed and soon all the embitterment caused by the legal squabble was forgotten by both branches of the family. But, the iron had entered Krishnamachar's soul and his antipathy to British rule in India became a deep-seated sentiment. While he was spending the last nine years of his life in Pondicherry, he started an English-French weekly titled "Indian Republic," in which he gave full vent to his anniyathy to British rule in India and love of freedom for India.

Thus, Mandayam Srinivasacharya's own intense devotion to the cause of Indian freedom could be deemed a parental inheritance. His cousin S. N. Tirumalachari (son of S. T. Narasimhachar) was also a staunch nationalist, and it was he who in 1906 founded the Tamil Weekly "India" in Madras, for which Poet Subramania Bharati became *de facto* Editor. In 1908, when the Madras Government prosecuted its legally declared Editor and the Paper was shifted to Pondicherry for publication from that position of vantage (Bharati has already been sent there for safe asylum), Mandayam Srinivasacharya took over the weekly from his cousin S. N. Tirumalachar.

As already noted in earlier chapters, the Pondicherry "India" had a brief existence of eighteen months, but it was a big thorn in British sides, a it carried virulent matter ably argued and presented in prose, verse and cartoons, from the pens of Bharati, Aiyar, Srinivasacharya, and other nationalists. Aiyar was sending a weekly newsletter from London, serialising a Tamil biography of Garibaldi, and even started sending a Tamil translation of Rousseau's "Social Contract." Bharati was a great lover of political cartoons, and the cartoons that he published were pungent and very appealing. The "India" was the first paper – English or Tamil or any other Indian language in South India, to carry cartoons.

It was this dedicated band of nationalist workers that V. V. S. Aiyar joined when he arrived in Pondicherry in October 1910. was to remain in that French Indian capital for the next ten years.

(Next week: Aiyar in Pondicherry.)

Free copies of one of the world's most quoted newspapers

Judged the most fair newspaper in the U.S. by professional journalists themselves. A leading international daily. One of the top three newspapers in the world according to journalistic polls. Winner of over 79 major awards in the last five years, including three Pulitzer Prizes. Over 3000 newspaper editors read the Monitor.

Just send us your name and address and we'll mail you a few free copies of the Monitor without obligation.

Please Print

Name ________

Address ________

City ________

Country ________

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Box 125, Astor Station
Boston, MA U.S.A. 02123
Z3BEA

Stolen - A Road

Work on the reconstruction of a section of the Cassia Antica, the ancient Roman road, which began this summer near the town of Viterbo, Italy, ended sadly. Road workers removed the massive basalt slabs which had borne the weight of the centuries and piled them neatly on the roadside. Soon afterward several tractors rolled up and carted off 70 metres of the ancient highway.

A police search discovered the slabs laid out in the gardens of country homes belonging to wealthy "lovers of antiquity." To recover the stolen road, however, turned out to be not so simple since the influential owners of the villas where they were found claim the slabs are merely clever imitations of the original. As a matter of fact, Italians are more indignant than surprised at the incident. After all, not so long ago a luxurious Lancia-2000 car belonging to the Minister of Defence was stolen in broad daylight. True, it was recovered some what sooner than the Cassia Antica.

Homeless

The plight of young people leaving or being ejected from their homes at an early age and leading a semi-vagabond existence was highlighted by Mr. Mark Bonham Carter, Chairman of the Community Relations Commission at a London press conference. It was "impossible to assess the number of homeless young people wandering in Britain's cities," "he said, "because no one had tried to find out." The number was increasing alarmingly he stressed.

"Unless positive action is taken quickly," Mr. Bonham Carter warned, "the process is likely to gather momentum."

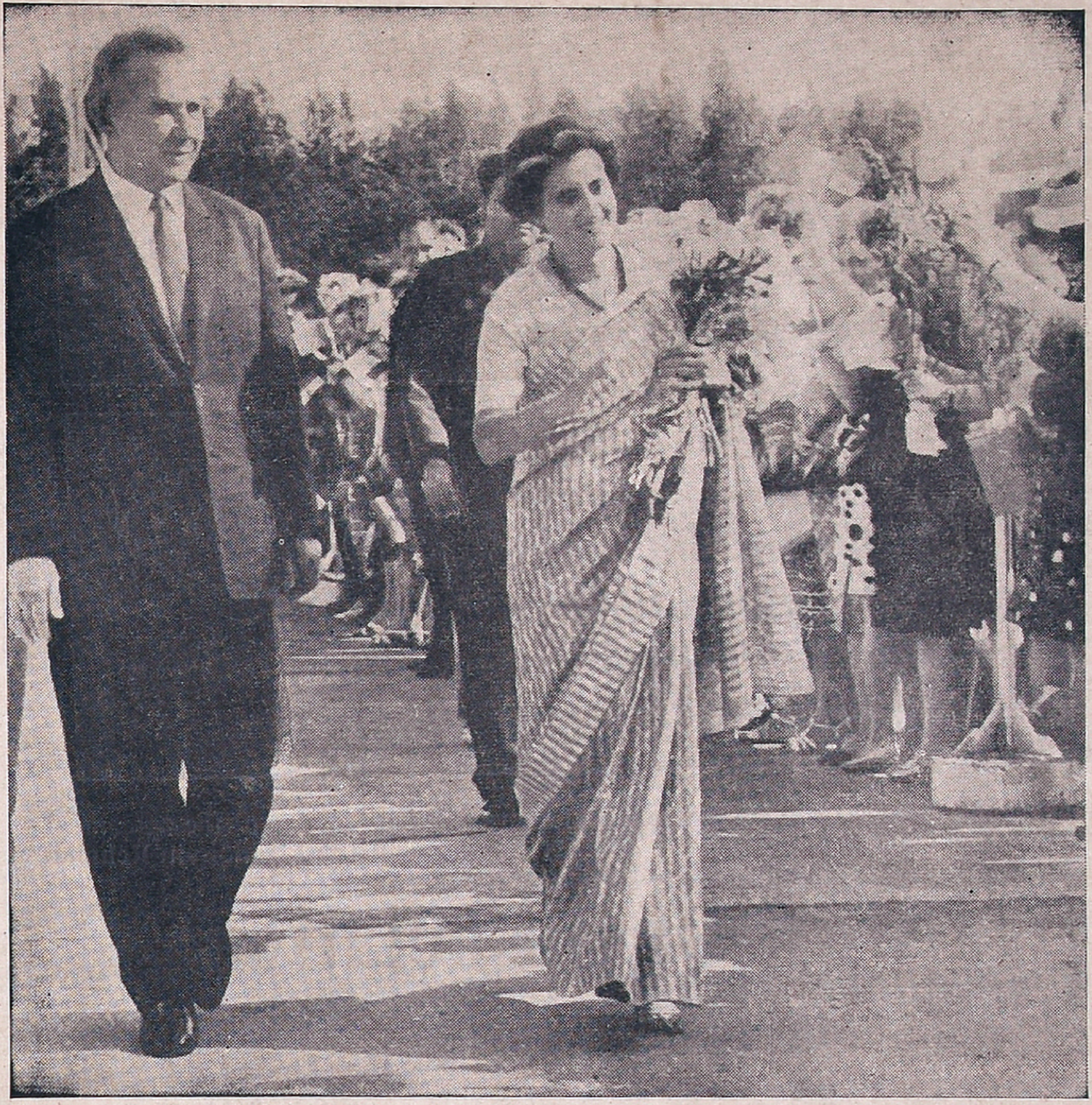
House Cannibals

That's what residents of Angeles City, come 72 km. north of Manila in the Philippines, call the thieves who specialize in stripping bungalows left vacant for a few days by their owners. The "cannibals" take everything they can cart away—toilet and plumbing fixtures, doors and door knobs and even roofing materials.

Igor Moiseyev dance ensemble is very popular in India.

From Third Cover

tance to these meetings and exchange of views between the leading statesmen of two countries. The regular contacts between the two sides on major international problems affecting the interests of both the countries promote the cause of universal peace and security. The exchange of visits of Soviet and Indian personages from diverse walks of life has become a tradition now. It deepens understanding between the two peoples and brings them closer to each other.



Mrs. Indira Gandhi being welcomed by Prime Minister A. Kosygin in Moscow.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi in Tashkent.

Revi Shankar and Soviet Composer Sergei Balasanyan. After signing of the agreement between (Indo-Soviet cultural Society) Iscus and its Soviet counterpart. Indirani Rehman giving autographs to her.

Mr. K. P. S. Menon, President of the Iscus speaking at a public meeting in Moscow.

The Joy Of Association

Five hundred years! The **history** of the ties between **the** Russian and Indian **peoples** is exactly so-many-**years old.** Five hundred **years** ago, Afanasi Nikitin, **a** merchant of the city of **Tver**, returned to Rus after **spending** three years in **India.** He has left behind **for** his descendants a book **A Journey Beyond Three** Seas, the first **description** of India in the **Russian** language, in which **some** of the keenest obser**vations** of this merchant-**traveller** are organically **blended** with poetic ima**gery** and the lyricism of an **artist.** One can trace the duration and the history of the cultural ties of the two great peoples from this masterpiece of old Russian literature.

Fifty years. Twenty-five years. The march of history has placed these two dates side by side. The dates of great events in the life of our peoples, in the life of mankind!

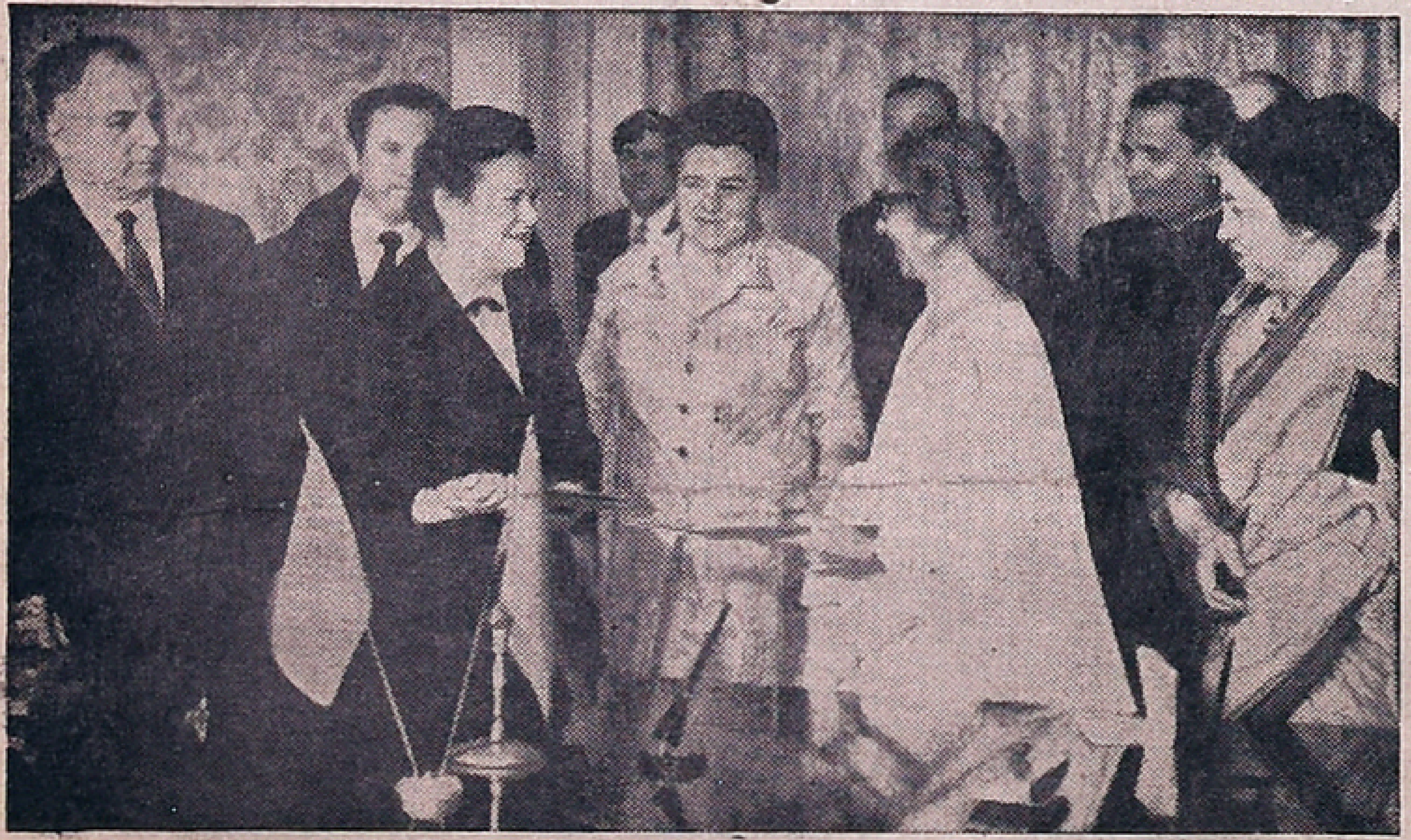
Fifty years since the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics– the offspring of the Great October Revolution and twenty-five years of the existence of independent, free India are the years of a great epoch of the liberation of mankind from the chains of capitalism and colonialism, an epoch of the birth of new relations between peoples—socialist and communist relations. These dates, at the same time, signalled the birth of new kind of friendship between the two countries.

The masters of Russian and Soviet literature–Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, Chekhov and Gorky, Mayakovsky and Sholokhov – are widely known in India. Millions of Soviet people know the works of Rabindranath Tagore and Prem Chand, of modern Indian writers and poets.

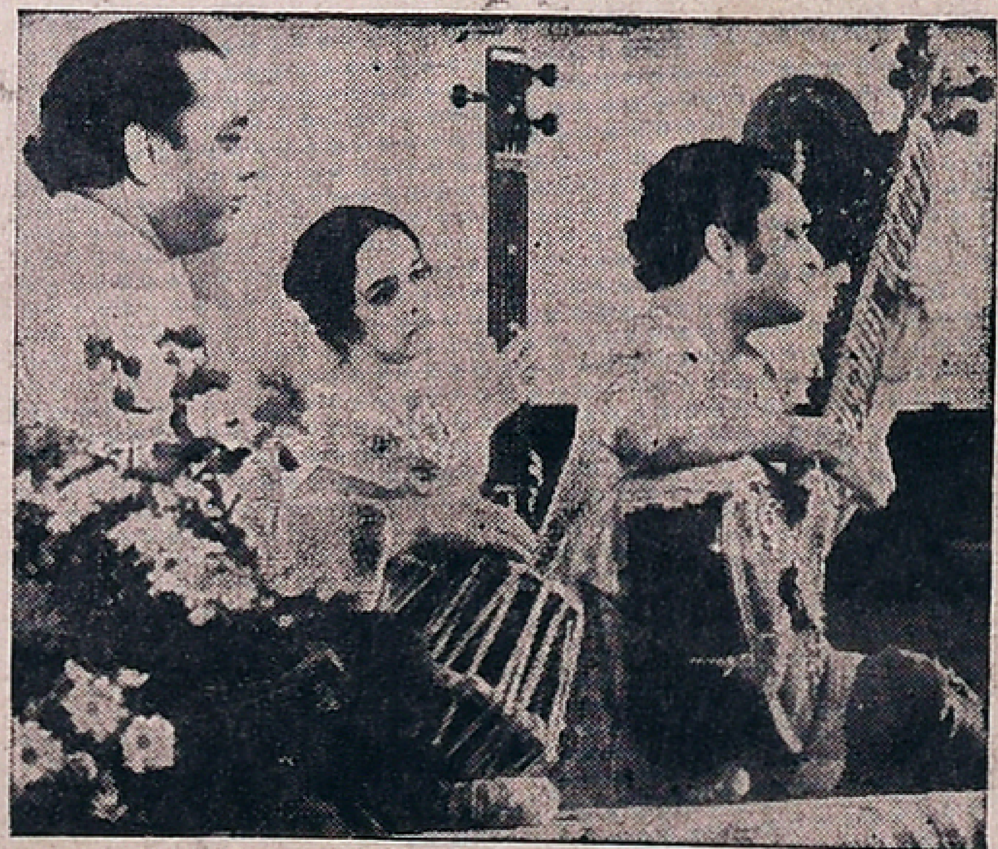
In the Soviet Union, some 600 books by Indian writers have been translated into 32 languages of the peoples of the USSR. Almost 30 million copies of these have been published. The books My Experiments With Truth by M. K. Gandhi, The Discovery of India and Autobiography by Jawaharlal Nehru are well-known in USSR.

Mutual visits of actors, artists and cultural workers have become a tradition. The Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, whose anniversary we are soon going to celebrate, is a firm guarantee for further expansion and enrichment of these contacts.

joint endeavour for the economic reconstruction is not the only important thing in friendship. A song sung by a friend, or a song sung together, the melody of which haunts one's mind is also important. The joy of association is the very essence of friendship, the greatest joy on earth.



Mrs. Shelvankar, the wife of the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, with People's Artist T. Narimanbekov.



Revi Shankar is giving a performance in Moscow.

Printed and published for the Free India Private Ltd.. by G. Rangarajan at the Free India Press, 77, General Patters Road, Mount Road, Madras-2, Editor D. Krishnamurthy.